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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 JAKARTA 008764

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SUBJECT: SAM HUNTINGTON'S "CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS:" APOCALYPSE
WHEN?

11. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

12. SUMMARY: SAM HUNTINGTON'S THESIS ABOUT THE "COMING CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS" HAS CAUGHT ON IN ASIA LIKE WILDFIRE. DEALING WITH THE ISSUE IS AS GREAT A CHALLENGE FOR POLICY AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AS ANY IN THE POST COLD WAR ERA. WE NEED TO MOUNT A MAJOR EFFORT TO MEET THE CHALLENGE. END SUMMARY.

13. SAM HUNTINGTON'S GHOST LURKED IN EVERY SHADOWY CORNER AT THE AUGUST 8-10 INDONESIA FORUM CONFERENCE ON ASIA-PACIFIC AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER. AUSTRALIA'S FOREIGN MINISTER GARETH EVANS PUBLICLY DEBUNKED HUNTINGTON'S "KULTURKAMPF" HYPOTHESES BUT PRIVATELY CONFESSED THAT THEY WERE BECOMING AN IMPORTANT OBSTACLE TO KEATING'S POLICY OF INTEGRATION WITH ASIA. INDONESIAN SPEAKERS WARNED THAT THE RISE OF RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL TENSIONS WOULD TURN THEIR FRAGILE COUNTRY INTO THE NEXT YUGOSLAVIA. MALAYSIAN FINANCE MINISTER ANWAR IBRAHIM, HIS HAIR ON FIRE, USED HIS KEYNOTE SPEECH TO ASSERT THAT THE HUNTINGTON "DOCTRINE" REPRESENTED THE PREDOMINANT VIEW OF WESTERN INTELLECTUALS AND THE CENTRAL CORE OF U.S. POLICY. HIS DIATRIBE GENERATED SPONTANEOUS APPLAUSE FROM INDONESIAN INTELLECTUALS, WHO SHEEPISHLY APOLOGIZED LATER.

14. THE "CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS" HAS MORE APPEAL THAN PREVIOUS 'BIG BANG' THEORIES SUCH AS "THE END OF HISTORY" OR "THE DECLINE OF THE WEST" BECAUSE IT FITS BETTER INTO SOUND BITES OR BUMPER STICKERS, AND BECAUSE IT POSITS AN OVERARCHING CONFLICT AROUND WHICH THE "BRAVE NEW WORLD" WILL BE RESTRUCTURED. IT ALSO COMES ALONG AT A TIME WHEN PEOPLE ARE LOOKING FOR SOMETHING OTHER THAN COMMUNISM TO FEAR. WHILE HUNTINGTON HIMSELF PRESENTS HIS IDEAS AS NOTHING MORE THAN A SERIES OF WORST-CASE HYPOTHESES, THE DANGER IS THAT THE PROPHECY WILL BECOME SELF-FULFILLING AS MORE PEOPLE BELIEVE IT AND ACT ON IT. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD, WHERE ANTI-WESTERN PARANOIA IS ALREADY AT A HIGH PITCH. DEALING WITH THIS ISSUE THUS CAN BECOME A CHALLENGE FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY - AND THE POLICIES UNDERPINNING IT - AS SERIOUS AS DEALING WITH THE COLD WAR CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE (OR, WHAT'S MINE IS MINE AND YOURS IS NEGOTIABLE).

15. WE NEED A UNIFYING COUNTER-THEME AROUND WHICH WE CAN BUILD OUR RESPONSE. GARETH EVANS HAS CHOSEN "COMMUNITY AND CONVERGENCE," WHICH IS NOT BAD AS A GOAL BUT SOUNDS TOO MUCH LIKE THE TRIUMPH OF HOPE OVER REALITY. "GLOBAL INTEGRATION WITH RESPECT FOR DIVERSITY" REQUIRES A LARGE BUMPER STICKER, BUT IS MORE PRESCRIPTIVE. E PLURIBUS UNUM DOES WELL AMONG LATIN SPEAKERS HERE, AS A FORERUNNER OF THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL MOTTO "UNITY IN DIVERSITY".

16. WHATEVER THE SLOGAN, WE THINK A MAJOR CAMPAIGN IS CALLED FOR TO COUNTER HUNTINGTONISM. ED DJEREDJIAN'S 1992 MERIDIAN HOUSE SPEECH PROVIDES USEFUL AMMUNITION, BUT IT NEEDS UPDATING AND INCREASED EMPHASIS ON WHAT WE ARE FOR RATHER THAN WHAT WE ARE AGAINST. ALSO, AS WE ARE LEARNING, THE PROBLEM EXTENDS WELL BEYOND THE MIDDLE EAST. IN INDONESIA ALONE THERE ARE FAULT LINES BETWEEN HINDUS, CHRISTIANS, MUSLIMS, SECULARISTS AND FUNDAMENTALISTS, NOT TO MENTION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. WE WILL CERTAINLY CARRY THE ISSUE TO THE INDONESIAN MEDIA, BUT WE NEED

MORE MATERIAL - STATEMENTS BY SENIOR OFFICIALS, WORLDNETS, VOA SPECIALS, AMPARTS - FULL SCALE EFFORTS WHICH USIA KNOWS HOW TO ORCHESTRATE SO WELL.

¶7. IN POLICY TERMS, OUR NEW FOCUS ON GLOBAL ISSUES MAY PROVIDE THE BEST SUBSTANTIVE FRAMEWORK FOR EMPHASIZING WHAT WE ARE FOR. OUR AGENDA OF NON-PROLIFERATION, COUNTER-TERRORISM, ARMS CONTROL, ENVIRONMENT, POPULATION, OPEN TRADING SYSTEMS, HUMAN RIGHTS AND POPULATION CONTROL CUTS ACROSS THE "VELVET CURTAIN" OF CIVILIZATION AND CULTURES. WE NEED TO CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE OUR ABILITY TO BUILD BROAD ISSUE-BASED COALITIONS IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS RANGING FROM THE UNGA TO THE TROPICAL TIMBER ORGANIZATION..

¶8. SOMETIMES WE WILL NEED TO BUILD BRIDGES TO KEEP CHASMS FROM DEVELOPING ALONG HUNTINGTON'S FAULT LINES. FOR EXAMPLE WE MAY ALL WONDER ABOUT THE RELEVANCE OF THE NAM IN A MULTI-POLAR WORLD. BUT THE MOVEMENT EXISTS, AND IF WE WANT TO AVOID A RETURN TO THE RHETORICAL NORTH-SOUTH WARFARE OF THE 1970'S, WE CANNOT AFFORD TO TURN OUR BACKS ON THE CURRENT MODERATE LEADERSHIP. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE A NORTH-SOUTH DIALOG AND DEAL WITH ISSUES OF LEGITIMATE CONCERN TO THE DEVELOPING WORLD, AS PRESIDENT CLINTON DID IN HIS TOKYO BILATERAL WITH SOEHARTO IN JULY. OTHERWISE LEADERSHIP WILL GRAVITATE TO THE LIKES OF MALAYSIA'S MAHATIR, WHO WILL USE THE FORUM TO DIVIDE RATHER THAN TO UNIFY.

¶9. WE ALSO NEED TO BE CAREFUL NOT TO LET CHASMS DEVELOP OVER HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD BE LESS CENTRAL TO OUR POLICY, OR THAT WE SHOULD NOT PUSH THESE ISSUES VIGOROUSLY IN OUR BILATERAL DIALOGS. BUT WE NEED TO PAY CAREFUL ATTENTION TO OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES LIKE INDONESIA AND AVOID INDISCRIMINATE PUNITIVE MEASURES WHICH WILL REDUCE OUR LEVERAGE ON HUMAN RIGHTS WHILE ADDING FUEL TO THE KULTURKAMPF THEORIES.

¶10. BECAUSE OF THE SPOTLIGHT ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND BOSNIA, THE ISSUE OF "THE WEST VERSUS ISLAM" HAS PARTICULAR RESONANCE NOW. FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF JAKARTA, WE NEED TO DO A BETTER JOB OF EXPLAINING OUR ACTIONS, WHETHER THEY BE AIR STRIKES AGAINST IRAQI RADAR SITES, RETALIATORY ATTACKS ON AIDID'S THUGS, OR OUR ACTIONS TO HALT SERB AND CROAT ATROCITIES IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. WE ARE DOOMED TO PLAY CATCH UP ON THESE ISSUES GIVEN THE IMPACT OF INSTANT TV COVERAGE AND THE NEED FOR OPERATIONAL SECURITY, BUT WE THINK WE COULD DO BETTER AT EXPLAINING OUR ACTIONS TO FOREIGN AUDIENCES.

¶11. WE ALSO NEED TO ORIENT SOME OF OUR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AWAY FROM A FOCUS ON CRISES SO THAT WE CAN PAY MORE ATTENTION TO OUR POSITIVE AGENDA OF THINGS WE AGREE ABOUT. FOR EXAMPLE, TO COUNTER THE "WE VERSUS THEY" MENTALITY, WE SHOULD MAKE MORE OF AN EFFORT TO DESCRIBE OUR INTERACTION WITH THE OIC, OUR COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS WITH MUSLIM STATES, AND THE WAY IN WHICH MUSLIMS ARE INTEGRATED INTO AMERICAN SOCIETY.

¶12. THESE CONSIDERATIONS HAVE NO DOUBT ALREADY OCCURED TO POLICY MAKERS IN WASHINGTON, BUT THE NEED FOR CONCERTED ACTION SEEMS PARTICULARLY URGENT FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE HERE.

BARRY